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THE CHRONOLOGY OF LIVY

In my previous note (*Class. Jour.* I, p. 155) I considered Livy's two chronological sources and his resulting divergence of three years from the Varronian era in most of his work. On this basis there are MS errors in three of the Livian dates. In Livy xxxi. 1. 4, we correct 478 to 486 A. U. C., in xxxi. 5. 1, 501 to 551 A. U. C., in xxxiv. 54. 6, 508 to 558 A. U. C. But Mommsen (*Röm. Chron.*, pp. 120 ff.), Weissenborn-Müller, *et al.* correct the first of these to 487 A. U. C., evidently supposing that the scribes made the same kind of a mistake in Latin as would be natural in German, viz., *vierhundert acht und siebenzig* for *vierhundert sieben und achtzig*. This is a common error in German owing to the inversion, but I know of no similar cases in Latin MSS. Furthermore, 486 A. U. C. is required by Livy's chronology. The passage xxxi. 1. 4 reads: *in mentem venit tris et sexaginta annos aequae multa volumina occupasse mihi, quam occupaverint CCCCLXXXVIII anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem, qui primum bellum Carthaginiensibus intulit*. The preposition *ad* plainly means "up to, not including," for Appius Claudius began the First Punic War in 490 A. U. C. (Varr.). Therefore Livy's first fifteen books had covered 489 years, Varronian reckoning, or 486 by his own chronology. The mistake CCCCLXXXVIII for CCCCLXXXVI is easily explained through the error V for X due to hasty writing, as that would give CCCCLXXVVI, which by correction or a similar error of II for V would produce CCCCLXXXVIII. The same number of pen-strokes is used in each of the numbers. Livy xxxi. 5. 1 is regularly corrected from 501 to 551, an error due to the omission of L.

Livy xxxiv. 54.6 is also regularly corrected, by comparison with Valerius Maximus ii. 4. 3, from 508 to 558 A. U. C., but Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) insists that it should be 557 A. U. C., and Weissenborn-Müller (*ad loc.*) agrees. The passage in Livy reads: *ad quingentesimum [quingagesimum] octavum annum in promiscuo spectatum esse*. This refers to the assigning of front seats at the plays to the *equites* in the consulship of L. Cornelius and Q. Minucius, 561 A. U. C. (Varr.). Therefore *ad* again means "up to, not including," and Livy differs by just three years from the chronology of Varro. But Valerius Maximus ii. 4. 3 has *per quingentos et quinquaginta octo annos* in repeating this statement of Livy. Though the change was doubtless due to carelessness or bad memory on the part of Valerius Maximus, it induced Mommsen to misinterpret the passage of Livy.

What effect does Livy's three years' variation from Varronian chronology have on his actual dating of events? Certainly not that assumed by Weissenborn-Müller in the note on Livy xxxi. 1. 4, where it is stated that Livy dated the Punic wars between 267 and 204 B. C.—i. e., three years too

early—for that would imply that he was also three years wrong in the later dates even down to his own time.

The variation was made at the beginning. To agree with Livy's chronology, the date 750 B. C. must be assumed for the traditional founding of Rome; the expulsion of the kings came in 506 B. C.; the rule of the decemvirs, in 449–447 B. C. (450–448 B. C., according to secondary source); the Gallic capture of Rome, 386 B. C. This is the most important, as it is within the period of reliable history. Polybius i. 6 dates this event in 387 B. C. (in the nineteenth year after Aegospotami and the sixteenth before Leuctra). This is equal to Ol. 98. 2, for the capture came about July 20, i. e., during the first month of the Olympiad year.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus i. 74 dates the capture Ol. 98.1=388 B. C. If Polybius be right, this date should belong rather to the spring, when the Gallic campaign opened. Diodorus xiv. 110–116 also dates the capture in Ol. 98. 2, though his surrounding dates are much confused.

It seems likely, therefore, that 387 B. C. is the correct date, especially as Polybius was able to compare contemporary Greek references to the event with his Roman source or sources.

In accord with this Polybius (vi. 11a. 2), on the authority of the pontifical tablets, dates the founding of Rome Ol. 7. 2 (=750 B. C., as in Livy, Nepos, Lutatius, Eratosthenes, and Apollodorus; cf. Solinus i. 27). The capture was thus for Polybius in the year 364 A. U. C., as in the Varronian chronology. But Livy's chronological source had inserted an extra decemviral year; hence the capture had to come in 365 A. U. C.=386 B. C.

Livy's secondary source (cf. iii. 33. 1; iv. 7. 1) was one year short of this reckoning, and so would agree with Polybius in placing the capture in 387 B. C. In the light of these facts, school histories should change the date of the capture of Rome from 390 B. C. (based chiefly on the *Fasti*) to 387 B. C.

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